

DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 080 098

HE 004 549

AUTHOR Ross, Bernard H.
TITLE University-City Relations: From Coexistence to Cooperation.
INSTITUTION American Association for Higher Education, Washington, D.C.; ERIC Clearinghouse on Higher Education, Washington, D.C.
SPONS AGENCY National Inst. of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C.
REPORT NO RR-3
PUB DATE 73
NOTE 43p.
AVAILABLE FROM American Association for Higher Education, 1 Dupont Circle, Suite 780, Washington, D.C. 20036 (\$2.00)

EDRS PRICE MF-\$0.65 HC-\$3.29
DESCRIPTORS City Government; Educational Finance; *Higher Education; *Local Government; *School Community Cooperation; *School Community Relationship; School Environment; School Expansion; *Universities

ABSTRACT

The relationship between local governments and institutions of higher learning has been the subject of increased discussion. This monograph examines what faculty, administrators, public officials, and other commentators say about this relationship and analyzes their comments. Chapter one delineates the scope of the study and defines terms most frequently used in the monograph. In Chapter 2 the impact of the college or university upon the local environment is examined. Major factors discussed are the university as employer; the financial relationships between universities and local governments; the provision of public services to the university community. Chapter 3 considers the development of the university's academic and practical involvement in urban affairs, with focus on trends that emerged during the 1960's. Chapter 4 examines the strengths and weaknesses of colleges, universities, and of the local governments as they seek to accommodate each other. Chapter 5 presents conclusions about past and present efforts of colleges, universities and local governments as they interact with each other in urban environments. Finally, recommendations are given that would increase the cooperation between two of society's most significant institutions. A 43-item bibliography is included. (Author/MJM)

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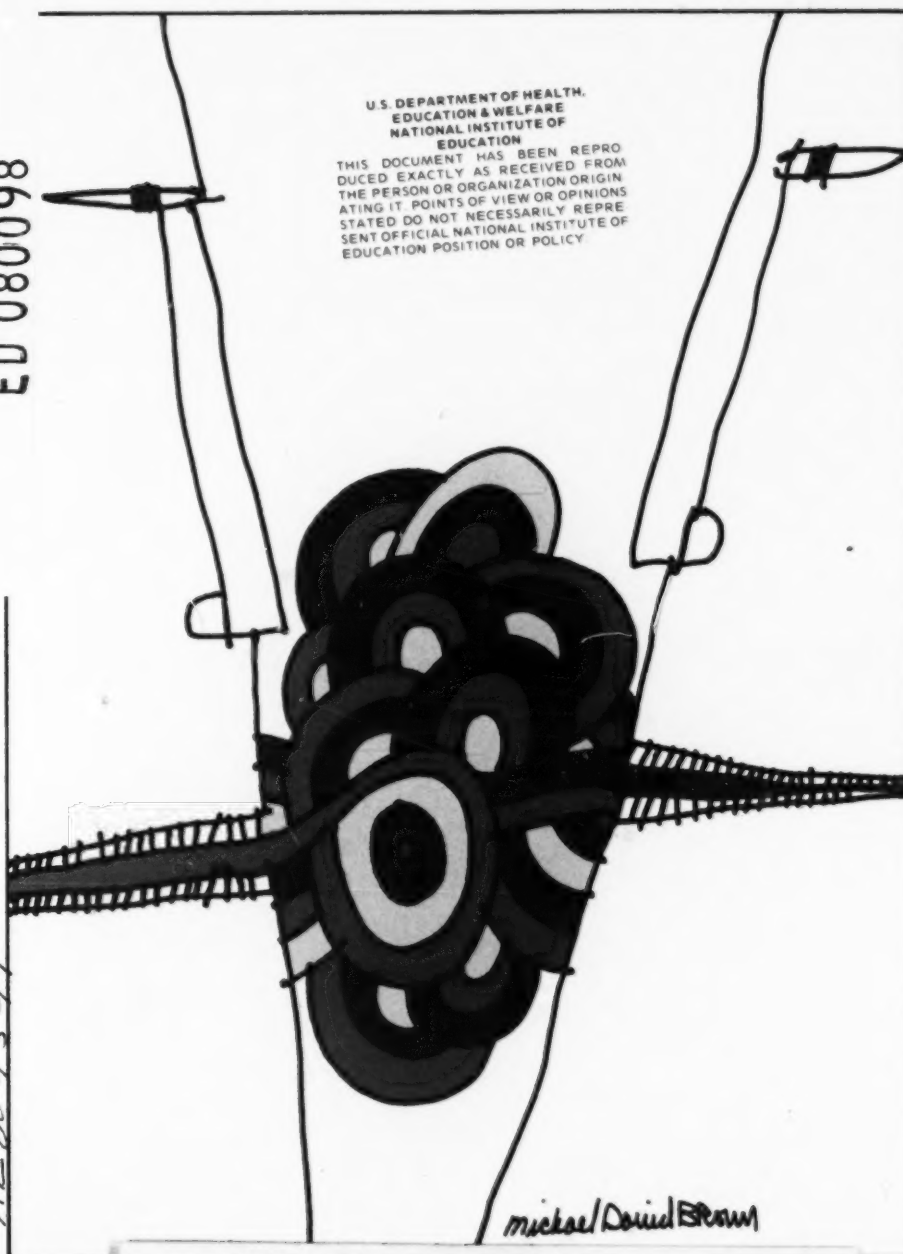
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**University-City Relations:
From Coexistence
to Cooperation**

Bernard H. Ross

ERIC/Higher Education
Research Report No. 3
1973

Published by
the American Association
for Higher Education
One Dupont Circle, Suite 780
Washington, D. C. 20036

This publication was prepared pursuant to a contract with the National Institute of Education, U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Contractors undertaking such projects under government sponsorship are encouraged to express freely their judgment in professional and technical matters. Points of view or opinions do not, therefore, necessarily represent official NIE positions or policy.

Foreword

There is general agreement in higher education that urban involvement is a legitimate function of colleges and universities. For a number of reasons, though, few if any institutions have made an optimum response to the urban scene. There is widespread interest in involvement, but little clear understanding of how this can best be accomplished.

This monograph is designed to assist colleges and universities to consider their possible relationships with urban government agencies. It is a part of a series of monographs on issues in higher education prepared by the ERIC Clearinghouse on Higher Education at The George Washington University, One Dupont Circle, Suite 630, Washington, D. C. Professor Ross, director of the Urban Affairs Program at the American University, has as his purpose to examine aspects of university-city relationships as well as to suggest recommendations for productive interaction between local governments and institutions of higher education.

Three major aspects of university-city relationships are considered: the impact of the university on local government; the growth of university involvement in urban affairs; and the strengths and weaknesses of both universities and local governments as they attempt to interact with each other.

As in other ERIC essays, the primary data are derived from a search of the literature, in this instance from 1966 to 1972. Since many of the data in this relatively new field are unpublished, other sources include unpublished addresses, summaries of ongoing and proposed programs, and institutional program descriptions and announcements.

This is not a how-to-do-it handbook. Rather, the treatment is designed to stimulate university administrators and faculty members to consider basic aspects of university-city government cooperative relations. As Ross points out, "University-city relationships are in their infancy. . . . If constructive policies and institutional changes can be agreed upon, it is conceivable that university-city relations could become the cornerstone of progressive thinking and action about urban America."

Martin D. Jenkins
Director, Office of Urban Affairs
The American Council on Education

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Overview

Introduction

The relationship between local governments and institutions of higher learning has been the subject of increased discussion. In the past 7 years hundreds of articles, papers, conference proceedings, progress and project reports, and speeches have been published on this subject. This monograph examines what faculty, administrators, public officials, and other commentators say about this relationship and analyzes their comments. Based on this analysis, recommendations for more productive interaction between local governments and higher education institutions are provided.

Chapter 1 delineates the scope of the study and defines terms most frequently used in the monograph. In Chapter 2 the impact of the college or university upon the local environment is examined. Major factors discussed are the university as employer; the financial relationships between universities and local governments; the provision of public services to the university community; and the university's impact upon land use and development in the local community.

Chapter 3 considers the development of the university's academic and practical involvement in urban affairs, with focus on trends that emerged during the 1960's. The development of programs to facilitate better relationships between universities and local governments are discussed, including three programs that exemplify this growing involvement: Title I of the Higher Education Act (1965); the Urban Observatory Program funded by the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) (1968); and the Intergovernmental Personnel Act (IPA) (1970).

Chapter 4 examines the strengths and weaknesses of colleges, universities, and of local governments as they seek to accommodate each other. Chapter 5 presents conclusions about past and present efforts of colleges, universities, and local governments as they interact with each other in urban environments. Finally, recommendations are given that would increase the cooperation between two of society's most significant institutions.

Scope of the Study

In any discussion of university-city relationships, neither term is inclusive enough to encompass the full range of activities or participants. The term *university* in this study refers to all 4-year colleges and

universities. Junior and community colleges often have established programs in cooperation with local governments. The rapid development of these colleges and their growing enrollment deserve important consideration, but for the purpose of this study they are not primary to the university-city relationship under discussion.

The term *city* requires elaboration. The affiliation between universities and local governments does not take place solely in large cities. Many state universities are located in small cities where the university is the primary participant in all local activity. Other universities are located in suburban fringes, while still others are found in the heart of our urban centers. Today the greatest percentage of students in higher education attend schools located in metropolitan areas. Metropolitan areas in the U.S., called Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA), are defined by the Office of Management and Budget as a central city or cities of 50,000 or more inhabitants, the county or counties in which the central city is located, and other contiguous territory that is economically and socially integrated with the central city. When the terms *city* and *urban* are used in this study the term "metropolitan" is meant, as defined here (Jenkins 1971).

Nature of Research

The primary source of data was a search of the literature from 1966 to 1972. This included articles in scholarly journals and journals of opinion, speeches by prominent academicians and educational administrators, summaries of ongoing programs, and papers on proposed new projects. The author also examined program announcements from many schools around the country and relied, in part, on his own experiences over the past several years in the New York and Washington metropolitan areas.

A major problem with much of the data is that it consists predominantly of case studies of individual cities and universities. These studies have been reviewed for the most pertinent features that highlight university-government affiliation and permit generalizations about this relationship.

One of the most important factors in the development of university-city affiliation has been the growth of local government internship programs. Internships are covered when they pertain to the area under consideration. However, no in-depth discussion will be examined since abundant material on internships is available (Hennessy 1970; Goldstein 1970; and Ross 1970; Zauderer, forthcoming).

Another aspect of the relationship that is not dealt with directly is

the question of organization theory and behavior. There is an implicit assumption by many observers that universities and local governments have a natural affinity for one another and therefore it is a relatively simple task to increase communication that enables the two institutions to work harmoniously together. This is an assumption contrary to fact.

A cursory examination of the goals, strategies, actors, and resources of colleges and local governments indicates that cooperative activities would probably be the exception rather than the rule. As its goal, the university seeks to create a learning environment where students can assimilate knowledge in an effort to reinforce, modify, or reject previously held values. The local governments see as their goal the provision of a necessary quantity and quality of public services to their residents. Since each institution employs different strategies and interacts with different actors in the pursuit of its goals, it should not be surprising to find that universities and local governments have not found clearly marked avenues for cooperative endeavors. Their only mutual concern appears to be the abstract goal of a better society in which each person can reach the highest level of their potential.

Later, attention will be focused on some of the problems that arise from the complex nature of these institutions. As indicated, no attempt will be made to analyze these institutions in terms of current organization theory or organizational behavioral research. The literature on this subject is voluminous and not the primary focus here.*

*For a complete bibliography on the literature in this field see McCurdy (1972).

Impact of the University on the Local Community

The impact of the university upon the local community has been felt in political, sociological, economic, and cultural ways. Almost every function a university performs, from admitting students to scheduling commencement exercises, has important consequences for local residents and public officials. Universities are similar in many ways to large corporations. They own real estate, purchase supplies, use local banks, purchase insurance, employ hundreds or thousands of people, and utilize public services. They are also relatively economically stable during recessions (Torrey 1969). In small cities, universities have a tremendous impact on the local community, while in large metropolitan areas their diversity and their unique institutional characteristics give them a prominent role to play (Arnstein 1970).

Employment

Universities like other large organizations employ persons with varying skills from all walks of life. The most expensive employment expenditure the university incurs is the hiring of faculty. Faculty members are usually recruited on a nationwide basis and consequently they represent input of highly educated citizens into the community. They are paid salaries substantially above the median national income and therefore they provide a source of funds to the local merchants who provide goods and services to these new residents.

A similar situation exists for the highest paid university administrators. However, many lower echelon administrators are recruited locally as are secretarial help, buildings and grounds personnel, janitorial, security, food service, medical and some professional staff people. The university becomes an important source of jobs for many people with different skills. Seventy to 80 percent of university budgets are allocated to salaries and wages. The university payroll therefore is an important component of the economic structure of the city and its metropolitan area.

Universities also employ students as teaching assistants, research aides, office helpers and assistants on special research, conference, or institute activities. The federal Work-Study Program is a recent employment concept in which universities have participated. All of these activities and jobs provide income that usually is channelled into the economy of the area and helps it to develop.

Finances

The university and the local community have other points of financial interaction besides the money university employees spend in the immediate area (Bonner 1968). Two of the most important are student expenditures and university purchases.

Students at universities are large consumers of goods and services. Three institutional variations are readily identifiable: the small school in the small city (Antioch, Wesleyan, Smith); the large school in the small city (Indiana, Illinois, Missouri); and the large school in the large city (UCLA, New York University, University of Pennsylvania).

Variation number one implies that the college or the university is the intellectual focal point of the community and that its students are one of the largest groups of consumers in the area. The students' needs for food, clothing, housing, and entertainment have a marked impact upon the economic life of the city.

Variation number two suggests that the university is the dominant factor in all activities in the area. Each university decision concerning enrollment, new schools, minority recruitment, and housing policy is reflected in the way student expenditures flow into the economy. Large segments of the commercial and cultural life are tailored to meet the needs of the student population.

Finally, in variation number three the student population is one of several economic inputs that affect life in the surrounding area. In most large cities other groups express preferences that conflict with student desires and this generates a wide range of options that cater to the different spending patterns. Many specialty stores that cater to student tastes are located on the perimeter of the university. Local residential dwellings and sources of entertainment specifically plan for college needs. The amount of student expenditures is very high, but as a proportion of expenditures made by all groups in the city it is relatively low. Consequently, the impact on the city's economic development is minimal in variation three.

The college or university is also a consumer of goods and services that can have a tremendous impact on the community. The degree of impact will vary with the size of the school, the size of the city, and the amount of goods and services that are purchased locally. In many small communities there are not sufficient suppliers to cater to all the needs of the college or university. In many large cities the university's purchases represent only a fraction of the suppliers' business. But in those areas where the college or university uses local banks, employs

local firms for specialized services, buys office supplies from local distributors, and uses local insurance firms, the economic impact on the area is substantial.

Another important financial consideration in university-city relations is the tax-free land utilized by the university. With cities and universities both in precarious financial situations, conflicts have arisen over present and future use of land adjacent to university sites (Wofard 1970). As universities grew in enrollments in the 1950s and 1960s, they also began to expand their physical facilities. Each new school, dormitory, or athletic facility took additional land off the tax rolls of the local political jurisdiction. As urban financial needs increased, local public officials began to look with disfavor at expanding university projects. Since little reliable data was available assessing the economic inputs of increased university expansion, some city-university relations became strained (Torrey 1969).

Public Services

One aspect of urban and metropolitan life where colleges and universities are no different from other large institutions is their need for public services. The major services supplied by cities to colleges and universities are: fire, police, hospital, traffic control, inspections, refuse disposal, and water supply. However, unlike other organizations, universities are often exempt from paying taxes to help defray the cost of providing these services.

Cities have begun to work more closely with colleges and universities to accurately assess the costs of some of these services so that a payment formula could be established. Where state universities are involved, cities have often negotiated with state legislatures to secure compensation for the services the city provides to the university. Several cooperative arrangements have been developed that serve as guidelines for future interactions between the city and its local higher education institutions.

In Massachusetts the state pays local governments by the amount of state-owned land in a nontaxable status in the city. In Ohio, Bowling Green and Ohio University have developed a system whereby the university pays the city a fee or a user charge for amount of equipment or the length of the service it requires. Bowling Green pays the city a fixed sum annually for fire protection while Ohio University pays a small retainer fee and then supplements this on a per hour basis for fire equipment deployed to the university campus (Torrey 1969). Other examples are the University of Michigan, which pays Ann Arbor a fixed percentage of the cost of providing specific public serv-

ices, and Northern Illinois University, which has a host of cooperative agreements with the city of DeKalb.

Unlike many other nonprofit institutions that utilize city services, universities do not close at 5 p.m. and are in need of services 7 days per week. Some state universities have begun to consider the added expense their location imposes upon city resources. However, in the case of small private colleges and universities the lack of financial resources often impedes any meaningful reimbursement to the city for services utilized.

Physical Development

Often the most visible impact a college or university has upon the local community is when a school increases its facilities and expands outward into surrounding neighborhoods. In several instances university expansion has caused neighborhoods to be displaced and forced the relocation of thousands of residents. Situations of this nature have heightened tensions and strained relations among public officials, university administrators, and local community groups (Arnstein 1970).

The university often finds itself in the middle of political controversy when its physical development programs begin. Public officials are concerned about the removal of additional land from the tax rolls and are usually called upon to resolve the conflict between the university and the local residents. Local community groups resist university incursion into their neighborhoods. Universities that initiate expansion programs without developing careful plans, clearing these plans with all the appropriate governmental departments, and working through the details with community leaders usually find themselves embroiled in a prolonged political controversy. Even when universities carefully prepare their plans, development does not automatically proceed smoothly. Expansion plans will occasionally be stalled by recalcitrant public officials or emotional community leaders who are reluctant to see any renewal and relocation take place in their neighborhoods.

Several universities that underwent sizeable expansion programs in the past two decades are: Chicago, Pennsylvania, Columbia, New York University, City University of New York, and George Washington University. Pennsylvania and Chicago implemented their expansion programs after prolonged discussions and work sessions with public officials and community leaders (Nash 1968). The Columbia experience was marked by greater turbulence.

In summary, the impact of colleges and universities upon their local communities is varied and continuous and requires a growing relation-

ship of interdependence between the two (White 1969). In many locales college faculty and administrators are members of local school boards, planning and zoning commissions and city councils (Torrey 1969). While this helps to strengthen ties between the school and the community, these contacts are quasi-institutional.

A university that desires a positive impact on its surrounding area must formulate a policy for coordinating all of its major activities with those of the political jurisdiction. This requires that the university and the local government establish some formal communication channels to permit a free flow of information on such topics as: short-term operating goals, student enrollments, physical development programs, housing and dining facilities, new academic schedules, and projected employment needs (Torrey 1969).

Only when a college or a university recognizes the effect it has upon the local community can it begin to initiate steps for facilitating interaction. In some cases, school personnel are assigned to task forces so the school's point of view will be reflected in discussions, recommendations, and decision making. In other situations the city council and/or the mayor meet periodically with either the trustees or the top university administrators to discuss present problems and future programs. Whatever course of action is agreed upon, the goal should always be to make the university-city relationship a positive and harmonious one. This can only be accomplished by recognizing the numerous ways universities interact with cities and communities and by opening up lines of communication and contact points between the two.

The Growth of University-City Relations

During the 1960s the American city became the focal point of serious study and concern. This resulted from a confluence of several factors that surfaced in a relatively short period of time. Some of these factors were: the Civil Rights movement; the urban riots in Los Angeles, New York, Newark, Detroit and other places; the election of mayors in several large cities who were young, well educated, articulate, idealistic, and for the most part unconnected to the existing and well entrenched political organizations; and the public's recognition of the diminished financial resources available to cities to help themselves.

The 1960s can be viewed as the decade when Americans truly became conscious of the fact that we are an urban nation. The Federal Government began developing programs and mobilizing financial and technical resources to assist the cities. When the 1960s ended there were very few programs on the federal level that did not have either a direct or an indirect effect on urban areas. By 1970, the Federal Government employed about 2.9 million persons. The state and local governments employed approximately another 10 million people. Thus, in 1970, one out of every six persons employed in the U. S. was working for a public agency and a very high percentage of these employees were working on urban-related tasks.

Structural and Academic Changes

During the latter half of the 1960s, students in American universities began organizing themselves for a variety of causes. They supported a host of civil rights activities and they marched against the war in Vietnam. They supported numerous social welfare programs designed to aid urban residents and they opposed organizational inertia, whether it was found in academia, government, or business.

Much of this student activism culminated in sometimes violent confrontations and in demands that universities and colleges become more relevant to the world around them. The term "relevant" became ambiguous and overused; generally it was translated to mean that higher education should begin offering new courses or restructure old courses to prepare students for the realities of the world they were about to enter (Colmen 1968; Shidler 1969).

The universities and colleges responded, with some reluctance, to the requests of the students. The result was that during the late 1960s

urban and metropolitan studies emerged as an important area of the undergraduate curriculum (Bischoff 1972). At the same time, graduate schools, particularly in large metropolitan areas, became cognizant of the high percentage of the work force employed in urban-related jobs. Master's level programs were developed to educate students interested in urban public-service careers or those already employed by public agencies.

A survey conducted by Bischoff in 1970 indicated that about seventy-five colleges had developed urban affairs programs. However, only 20 percent of these programs had been initiated prior to 1965. At the time of his survey Bischoff found many colleges and universities were planning undergraduate urban affairs programs and graduate degree programs in urban affairs.

The growing demand for relevance, the potential career opportunities, and the increasing attention paid to urban problems prompted colleges and universities to respond both structurally and academically (Colmen 1968). In a structural sense many urban schools began to form urban affairs committees to examine the relationship between the school and the city (Nash and Waldorf 1971; Randolph 1969; Nordlie 1969; Astin 1969; and Hester 1968). Committee reports often became policy guidelines for the university community. During the late 1960s new departments, centers, or divisions of urban affairs were instituted at Johns Hopkins, Michigan State, St. Louis, Tulane, Portland State, San Francisco State, and the University of Texas at Arlington (Winston 1970; Taher 1971). Research institutes were initiated at Akron University, Maryland, Chicago, Wayne State, and Houston (Winston 1970; Taher 1971). By the beginning of the 1970s, universities were creating new colleges and schools of public affairs. Some of the universities where this structural change occurred were Indiana, Colorado, American, Washington (Seattle), Carnegie-Mellon, and California at Berkeley.

Academically the universities responded in a variety of ways. Most of the teaching departments in the social sciences developed new urban courses. Others began offering interdisciplinary or multidisciplinary options for students desiring urban affairs majors; with few exceptions the traditional teaching units remained autonomous and the burden of securing a well-rounded education with an emphasis on urban affairs fell to the student. Only the most persevering students were able to overcome the administrative obstacles and graduate with extensive course work in urban affairs.

To combat this structural inertia, teaching units began to experi-

ment with alternative forms of education. This was an effort to satisfy student demands for nonclassroom educational experiences and also to make urban affairs a legitimate subject for academic concern. The most popular alternatives to classroom teaching that emerged were internships, independent reading or research courses, urban semesters, and urban cooperative studies centers.

Internships take many forms but the most common procedure involves a student working 1 or 2 days per week in a public or private agency. The student becomes a participant-observer. He works with employees on projects often mutually agreed upon by the student, faculty member, and supervisory personnel. Students may be required by faculty to prepare research papers, read and discuss pertinent literature, or do both. Some of the interns are paid, while others are not. Academic credit is awarded in most internships and the amount varies considerably from school to school. During an internship students spend a considerable amount of time observing and learning how a specific agency or department functions and how that agency interacts with other agencies in the process of urban life.

Students could also take independent reading or research courses in urban areas of specific interest to them. Faculty members work with students on a tutorial basis and students work at their own pace on their projects.

Another academic innovation was the creation of urban semester programs. A select group of students interested in urban affairs spend an entire semester utilizing a variety of teaching techniques—lectures, seminars, guest speakers, and field trips—examining many aspects of urban life. Many of the urban semester programs are team taught and the programs at American University and Southern California accept students from other colleges and universities.

Small schools with limited resources have responded by forming cooperative studies centers. These schools, many from nonurban areas, have met the needs of their students by permitting them to spend a semester in an urban center studying urban affairs. The schools help support the center that runs courses, supervises interns, arranges for public officials to meet with students, and directs research. Two urban centers that have operated successfully for several years are located in Cleveland, Ohio, and Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

Two other areas of continuing university involvement in local government have been preservice training for teachers and inservice training for police officers. For many years teacher training programs have required students to work with teachers in a classroom to help prepare

the student teachers for their own teaching careers. Universities and local school systems have worked together to plan student placements, preservice supervision, curriculum and methodological questions, and evaluation techniques. This teaching device is being copied today by schools in public administration, urban affairs, and public policy courses.

Inservice training for police officers has expanded the relationship between colleges and local law enforcement agencies. Many urban police forces have embarked upon a program of encouraging police officers to take college courses, particularly in the social sciences. Most of these courses are in sociology, psychology, and political science. In some schools special programs have been developed in corrections, prison reform, constitutional law, juvenile delinquency, civil disorders, and police administration. Some police officers work toward college degrees but in most cases they attend classes to broaden their own perspective on varied aspects of urban life and the law enforcement system. Fulltime students have recently begun taking these courses. The exchange of ideas and opinions between the policemen and the students has greatly enriched these classes.

New Programs: Federal Initiative—In the past 8 years the Federal Government has sponsored several programs that encouraged greater interaction between universities and local governments. Each of these programs seeks to stimulate creative projects where university knowledge and resources apply to specific local governmental problems. The goal is to resolve specific problems, ameliorate others and, in the process, strengthen the ability of universities and local governments to work together toward common ends. Three of these programs are Title I of the Higher Education Act of 1965, the Urban Observatory Program, and the Intergovernmental Personnel Act of 1970. Each of these are considered as a vehicle for strengthening university-city relationships.

Title I of the Higher Education Act of 1965—In 1965 the Federal Government, sensing the rising number of urban problems facing cities and the inability of universities and cities to focus their combined talents and resources on these problems, enacted the Community Service and Continuing Education Program under Title I of the Higher Education Act of 1965. Approximately 10 million dollars was appropriated for Title I. This money was divided among the 50 states and the District of Columbia based on a population formula. Funds allocated to projects were to be matched by the state and/or the participating university.

Each state selected a Title I director who publicized the program and requested higher education institutions to submit proposals. Proposals were read by State Title I Advisory Committees and projects were funded based upon innovation, conformity to the state guidelines and criteria, and the Advisory Committee's confidence in the ability of the school and the local government to carry out the project as proposed.

Title I guidelines were broad enough to encourage a wide range of programs, which in the past 7 years have touched upon almost every aspect of urban life. The programs funded included small group seminars in human relations, agency-client confrontation sessions, role-playing seminars, top level and middle management workshops, program evaluation and monitoring conferences, training programs for paraprofessionals, task force assistance for community groups, and specialized workshops for small business managers.

In short, almost every conceivable activity that affected urban areas was capable of being funded under the Community Service and Continuing Education Programs. Within the universities a variety of academic disciplines became involved in Title I programs. Projects were administered by faculty in sociology, government, psychology, education, business, nursing, health, social work, community development, planning, public administration, and communications.

In recent years more and more project proposals have been concerned with central city problems. Universities and local governments have begun to focus their attention on problems such as citizen participation, decentralization of government, urban service delivery, economic development, political and social conflict, minority employment, and central city-suburban relationships. Faculty members in individual teaching units have been working with local public officials in specific departments and agencies as well as with clientele groups to create, monitor, and evaluate programs that will reduce conflict and increase the quality of urban life.

By its very nature Title I was intended to coordinate local governments and colleges and universities on an institutional level. Some colleges and universities were able to develop proposals by working closely with specific departments of government. The successes therefore have been piecemeal. How many of the projects will be continued after funding is terminated is impossible to determine. The overall impact of these projects on urban life is equally difficult to assess. However, it does appear that in many cases relationships have been developed between higher education institutions and departments of local govern-

ments that have laid the foundation for increased cooperation in future endeavors.

The outlook for Title I programs in early 1973 was not very good. Federal appropriations were agreed upon but the Office of Management and Budget had only released a small proportion of the funds. The Fiscal 1974 budget has no funds projected for Title I.

The Urban Observatory Program

The concept of the urban observatory is usually credited to Robert Wood. While a professor at MIT, Wood delivered a speech at Washington University in St. Louis in 1962 suggesting that social scientists interested in urban affairs were far behind natural scientists in their ability to study and observe urban phenomena (Wood 1963, pp. 122-26). Natural scientists were conducting research by using field stations, data centers, and observatories. Wood recommended that urban observatories be established that would be the product of a new working relationship between universities and local governments. The participants in the observatory program would develop a research plan, thus allowing empirical analysis of clearly defined problems to proceed in a well organized manner (Wood 1963, p. 123; Jacobson 1969, p. 49).

The underlying concept of the observatory program was to overcome some of the traditional inadequacies that exist in the field of urban affairs. First public officials had to make decisions daily on complex issues, often without adequate information or empirical research to strengthen their decisionmaking capability. Second, only limited techniques existed for evaluating public decisions and programs. This affected the feedback mechanisms and hampered public agencies in their efforts to judge the effectiveness of programs and to devise alternative implementation techniques. Third, while scholarly research on urban problems was being conducted by many academicians, local governmental decisionmakers were not aware of the results (*Evaluation of the Urban . . .*, 1971, pp. 8-9).

The observatory concept remained dormant until 1965. In that year two events occurred that gave the observatory idea its needed impetus. Congress created the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) and the Mayor of Milwaukee, Henry W. Maier, became president of the National League of Cities (NLC). Maier liked Wood's idea of the urban observatory and was instrumental in the creation of a standing committee within NLC for the purpose of developing the idea more fully (*Evaluation of the Urban . . .*, 1971, pp. 9-10).

In June 1968, HUD and the U.S. Office of Education (USOE) awarded a contract of \$35,000 to NLC for a demonstration project to

test the observatory concept. It was agreed that cities admitted to the program would have to come from areas of over 250,000 people. However, New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles were excluded, since it was felt that they were too large and their problems were too complex.

Fifty-six cities expressed an interest in participating in the program. Seven cities—Albuquerque, Atlanta, Baltimore, Kansas City (Kansas and Missouri), Milwaukee, and Nashville—were selected by NLC and approved by HUD. After the selection process was completed, HUD awarded an additional \$370,000 over 2 years to carry out the major objective of the program. They were:

1. Facilitate making available to local governments, university resources useful for understanding and solving particular urban and metropolitan problems.
2. Achieve a coordinated program of continuing urban research, grounded in practical experience and application, relevant to urban management, human resources, and environmental and developmental problems common to a number of different areas and communities.
3. Advance generally university capabilities to relate research and training activities more effectively to urban concerns and the conditions of urban living. (*Evaluation of the Urban . . .*, 1971, p. 12)

The NLC added four additional cities—San Diego, Boston, Cleveland, and Denver—to the program shortly after receiving their 2-year funding from HUD and USOE.

The Urban Observatory Program was begun in 1969 with four underlying themes (*Evaluation of the Urban . . .*, 1971, pp. 12-13). First, each observatory was to be organized to facilitate maximum cooperation between the universities and the local governments in the metropolitan area. Second, a research agenda was to be developed by the university and the local government with final approval from HUD. The local chief executive was to define the projects that required the most immediate attention. Third, the observatory program was to be a joint funding operation. HUD funds were channeled to the cities through NLC. The U. S. Office of Education provided funds to participating universities through Title I of the Higher Education Act of 1965. This was a coordinated effort to link applied urban research with community service activities. Fourth, a network for disseminating information and coordinating observatory projects was established.

In 1971, the National Academy of Public Administration (NAPA) completed an evaluation of the Urban Observatory Program. Generally, NAPA concluded that the concept of the observatory program was practical, workable, and promising. Universities and local governments had begun establishing informational and research channels that were encouraging for the future (*Evaluation of the Urban . . .*, 1971, p. 1).

However, the NAPA evaluation also found some discouraging factors in their 10-city study. Funding for the program was insufficient. Central management was weak and divided among too many organizations. Some of the observatory programs were poorly organized and administered. Performance in general varied greatly from city to city, with very little research completed to date. Too much funding had been devoted to the national research agenda and not enough to local research efforts. Several observatory programs have had difficulty integrating Title I funding with their developing research projects (*Evaluation of the Urban . . .*, 1971, pp. 1-3).

There is always some risk involved in evaluating a new program soon after its inception. The urban observatory was a bold new attempt to solve urban problems by combining university resources, local government problem articulation, and federal funding. Added to this is a complicated funding process involving two federal agencies, a public interest group (NLC), a dozen city governments, and at least that many institutions of higher learning. The organizational and administrative problems are bound to be complex and varied.

The Urban Observatory Program is one of the most comprehensive programs available for coordinating activities of universities and local governments. The idea of the urban observatory is sound and more practical than any alternative currently available. The criticisms leveled against the program are those found in almost all new and complex projects. It remains to be seen whether or not this program will be strengthened with additional funding and infused with new ideas in the second Nixon Administration.

The Intergovernmental Personnel Act

The Intergovernmental Personnel Act (IPA) of 1970 provides several possibilities for the development of university-local government relationships. The bill was enthusiastically supported by organizations of local officials, the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, and Senator Edmund S. Muskie.

The purpose of the Act is to strengthen the federal system by improving the quality of public service at all levels. The Act seeks to modernize state and local personnel systems, increase the training programs at both levels, and encourage the initiation of new programs and ideas. Furthermore, strengthening the personnel systems at those levels where services are delivered will strengthen the entire public service performance picture. This becomes increasingly important with the advent of revenue sharing since greater responsibility will be

vested in states, counties, and cities for the implementation of many more programs (Baker 1972, p. 12; Guarraia 1972, p. 23).

IPA represents the first grant program ever administered by the Civil Service Commission (CSC). IPA initially was funded for \$12.5 million. Its second year funding was increased by 20 percent. Eighty percent of the funding is distributed in grants to the states. The formula used for the grants is based upon the number of state and local employees and state governmental expenditures. At least 50 percent of the state's grant must be passed through to the local governments. In some states the pass-through is even higher than 50 percent (Baker 1972, p. 13). The remaining 20 percent of the appropriation is retained by the CSC to be used as discretionary funds.

While the IPA is not designed to strengthen university-local government relationships, the Act is extremely flexible and permits a good deal of cooperation in a variety of program areas. The Government Service Fellowships permit state and local government employees to return to graduate schools on a fulltime basis. A local government employee who receives such a fellowship is reimbursed for books, travel, and other related expenses. The local government is reimbursed one-fourth of the grantee's annual salary and the university receives payment for administration costs less charges for tuition and fees (Baker 1972, p. 14). Fellows may attend graduate school fulltime for 2 years while being paid their full salary. However, careful stipulation must be made of how the local government will utilize the training Fellows receive once they complete their course of study. In 1972 only 3 percent of the grants awarded were for Government Service Fellowships (Guarraia 1972, p. 25).

Title IV of the IPA, called the "mobility or interchange" title, permits temporary movement of personnel from one level of government to another. It also permits personnel movement between local governments and institutions of higher education. Exchange of personnel need not be reciprocal.

Universities and local governments can use IPA to develop cooperative activities in other ways. Universities can work with local governments as contractors to develop and provide technical training for employees utilizing institutes, seminars, and certificate programs. Universities are also eligible to become contractors for general training programs for inservice personnel (Baker 1972, p. 14). The flexibility in the IPA provides several opportunities for increasing university-local government interaction.

Other Programs

The growth of university-city relationships has been abetted in theory and practice by several other proposals. Each of these in its own way seeks to develop or reinforce cooperative activities between the two parties.

In 1962, the University of Oklahoma initiated a program called Professor of the City. Utilizing a grant from the Ford Foundation, the University gave members of its faculty leaves of absence to work as professors in residence in Tulsa, Oklahoma. When the professor observed a problem and had diagnosed it, he was expected to participate in the treatment. He was an advisor and a consultant but he also had the opportunity to implement some of the remedial programs he had developed. The five general areas where the Professor of the City worked were information and/or communication; leadership training for youth; public health; and political science and economics. The Professors of the City were encouraged to view city problems as a whole and then recommend solutions that were interdisciplinary in concept (*The Role of the University in the Community*, 1 Feb. 1969).

Another approach that has increased university-local government relationships has been the creation of consortia. In most cases consortia are created to coordinate the resources of the colleges and universities in a metropolitan area, permitting joint planning to take place and providing for student access to courses on other campuses. Other consortium activities include interuniversity library privileges, submitting grant applications, and consolidating course offerings and academic programs (Bisconti 1969; Evans 1968).

Consortia have also directed their efforts towards improving relationships with local governments. A consortium can often speak with greater authority and with the potential of committing greater resources than any one of its members. Moreover, a consortium director often has access to the chief executive of the city and he can get a commitment of local government support for a project more readily than a university professor. Consortium-city projects are usually larger in scope, better staffed, and better financed than projects worked out by faculty members and local governmental administrators. Consortia in different cities have been instrumental in organizing health services, determining recreational needs, establishing internship programs and helping local government to decentralize service delivery (*The San Francisco Consortium* 1969; Bisconti 1969).

A final idea that has yet to gain national acceptance is the proposal to establish a series of urban-grant universities in our largest cities.

One of the most forceful advocates of this idea is Clark Kerr, former President of the University of California System (Kerr 1968a and b).

Kerr has suggested the establishment of sixty-seven urban-grant universities similar to the existing land-grant colleges. These schools would take an aggressive approach to urban problems, and the city's concerns would provide the ongoing work of the university. The university would then be oriented to the total urban environment by concentrating on questions of design, open space, education, recreation, health, cultural activities and social problems (Kerr 1968a).

Kerr sees the urban-grant universities as experiment stations to resolve urban problems. The urban-grant university would need assistance from the Federal Government for land acquisition, operating funds, and expansion. Also, the Federal Government would provide grants for programs that focused on urban problems and grants would be made to both public and private universities (Kerr 1968a).

A variation on the Kerr approach is the discussion of the urban-grant institution as a college without walls. This would be an institution inseparable from its community. It would combine applied urban research, teaching, and public service. One of the major objectives would be to strike a balance between on-campus and off-campus work performed by students (Gerth 1969; Kinnison 1972).

All of the programs discussed in this section have assisted the universities in developing meaningful relationships with local governments. In some cases the ideas and programs are relatively new and therefore only a foundation has been laid for a growing cooperation. How well the potential in these programs is developed depends to a great extent on the personal commitments and organizational flexibility of the two institutions.

University and City Resources

Strengths of the University

The strengths of the universities in mobilizing resources for cooperative action with local governments can be categorized under three headings: facilities, manpower, and knowledge. These categories may vary depending upon the outlook of the commentator and the prevailing attitude of the public toward universities at any given time (Woffard 1970; Goodall 1970).

University facilities are not usually considered a major resource in discussing university-city relationships. Yet there are a variety of ways higher education institutions have cooperated with cities through the utilization of their facilities. Universities often make their recreational facilities available to local residents on a limited basis. These facilities include swimming pools, gymnasiums, athletic fields, and tennis courts. This practice occurs most frequently in small or medium size cities with large colleges or universities.

In small and medium size cities universities are usually the main, if not the only, source of cultural activity. In these communities one finds concerts, art shows, film festivals, theatre groups, chorale groups, and prominent guest speakers originating on the college or university campus. Many of these events are free and the public can generally gain admittance.

In addition to cultural and recreational facilities the university has buildings, lecture halls, seminar rooms, and libraries that become important resources in university-city cooperative endeavors. In almost all cities where colleges and universities are located, public officials have found some occasion when it was necessary to use university facilities. The most common usage has been for conferences and seminars where public space is inadequate or when public officials want to change their environment and divorce themselves totally from the everyday intrusions of their jobs. Some of the federally funded programs discussed above have taken the form of institutes or periodic seminars. Universities have often made their campus facilities available for these programs.

Two other types of facilities that grew in importance in the 1960s are urban research centers and university data banks (Woffard 1970). Local governments have utilized these facilities for seminars and information retrieval.

A second resource of universities that can be creatively applied to evolving relationships between universities and cities is manpower in the form of students or faculty members.

Students serve as a resource for local governments in many ways. Universities currently encourage student internships in local government whereby students are assigned to an agency of government to work with public employees on programs of interest to the whole city. Some students are assigned to the executive or legislative branch where they assist in the policymaking process. In all of these internships the students are gaining valuable knowledge while performing tasks vital to the development or the implementation of public policy.

Students also prove to be an important resource when they assist city agencies on specific tasks. Projects develop that require far more man-hours than one agency can allocate. In such cases students are hired or volunteer their services to interview people, tabulate data, and gather information from primary or secondary sources (Kravitz 1967).

Faculty members as a resource overlap the categories of manpower and knowledge. They assist local governments as a manpower resource by channelling students into agencies in need. They also recommend and direct students to job vacancies once they have graduated and are ready to begin careers in public service.

Knowledge is the most publicly accepted asset of a university. The utilization of this resource varies in degree and kind from university to university and from city to city. Since universities offer courses in many academic disciplines, a broad range of knowledge is available to aid city governments. Faculty members pursue diverse research interests that cover the range of policies and problems confronting the city. Because of its different experiences, training, and interests, a university faculty offers a variety of research methodologies that can be applied to local governmental problems (Woffard 1970).

The current research interests of many faculty members are geared to contemporary urban problems. Meaningful lines of communication between the university and the city can expedite the transmission of research findings to the local government. Furthermore, faculty at one university are aware of ongoing research of faculty at other universities and this knowledge can be applied to specific local problems.

Much of the knowledge that faculty members possess is published in journals and periodicals not widely read by local public officials. Thus the process for transmitting this information usually leads to faculty members becoming parttime consultants to local government.

This is a selective and informal procedure that to date has produced only marginal results in strengthening the overall relationship between universities and local governments.

As lecturers, advisors, and seminar leaders, faculty members help to shape values and clarify alternative career choices. In this respect faculty members are imparting knowledge that can have a strong influence on a student's decision to choose a career in local public service. Many teaching units within a university—political science, public administration, economics, sociology, education, psychology, communications, data processing, systems analysis, and operations research—directly relate to jobs in local government. If a professor has a positive image of local government as a potential career choice, it is likely his students will be positively motivated to view this as a major alternative in their job search plans.

Weaknesses of the University

One of the most articulate critics of universities in their relationships with cities is John Gardner, former Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare and currently director of the citizens' lobby Common Cause. In a speech reprinted in the *Educational Record*, Gardner outlined some of the major weaknesses of the university in contemporary America (Gardner 1969).

First, universities are besieged with their own financial and administrative problems and as a result have turned inward, not outward toward the cities. Second, universities take an incremental approach and move slowly on new projects and activities. Third, public officials have difficulty in defining problems in ways to interest faculty members. Faculty, on the other hand, are too far removed from local government activities to perceive the problems. Fourth, since faculty members are relatively autonomous, university administrators are hampered in their attempts to commit university resources. Fifth, most urban problems fall in the domain of the social sciences. Traditionally, social science research has been conducted on a small scale by individual faculty members. This approach is not compatible with the large scale problems evident in local government today.

The ills defined by Gardner are worth considering and generally can be classified under three basic headings: departmentalization, pure versus applied research, and the university reward system.

Departmentalization—For many years universities have been organized by departments or teaching units. This fragmented approach has permitted the individual disciplines to set their own standards, devise their own courses, hire, fire, and promote with little or no intervention

from other departments or the university administration. University life has become one of specialization that, in turn, became the path to professional success (Washington 1969).

Universities therefore are not the classical organizational hierarchies that permit top administrators to make binding decisions or to commit the whole organization to a course of action. Universities are more accurately depicted as a collection of organizations that rarely are in complete agreement about any internal policy let alone an external policy concerning university-local government relationships (*Preliminary Report* 1968).

The departmentalization of the university impedes a coordinated approach to local governmental problems. Lacking this university-wide coordination, it is not surprising that university-city relations have progressed in an individualistic, sporadic, and at times chaotic manner. The existence of Colleges of Arts and Sciences and the recent emergence of Colleges of Public Affairs have done little to eliminate departmental units or to focus the resources of the university on the city.

The major problems confronting cities today are not apt to be resolved by individual faculty members from specialized teaching departments. Areas of urban concern such as crime, poverty, and housing can only be attacked by teams of scholars that utilize interdisciplinary approaches in a coordinated manner (Washington 1969). Few universities today can mobilize this type of assistance with their present organizational structures.

Pure Versus Applied Research—Another inherent weakness in the university system is the persistence on the part of most faculty members to remain aloof from the everyday problems in the world around them. This characteristic has been the result of traditional thinking that asserted pure research could be conducted only if the scholar removed himself from the arena of conflict to preserve the objectivity of research results (Stokes 1969). The upshot has been that most college and university professors have little or no practical experience in dealing with community problems.

While objectivity in research is necessary, it is no longer reasonable to suggest that empirical research conducted among the masses tends to bias the conclusions any more than "ivory tower" theories developed by an elite corps of scholars. More and more scholars are involved not only in empirical research but also in research that is directly relevant to problems confronting the communities where they reside. The changing pattern of university life increasingly demands scholarly attention to applied research projects.

This change has developed slowly in view of the dichotomy between the need of public officials and the inclination of university professors. Local government officials need relatively quick responses to problems confronting them. University scholars require grants for staff, space, and time to develop and test their ideas. Until recently the two methods of operation have been incompatible (Kravitz 1967).

Lately, however, there has been an attempt to reduce this gap through policy studies. Public policy analysis has attempted to meet the demand for relevant research while requiring rigorous and systematic approaches to the questions being researched. Research on public policy is proceeding on national, state, and local levels. On the local level it has begun to break down some of the barriers between advocates of pure versus applied research. For those faculty members interested in applied research it has provided the necessary academic legitimacy for them to thrive in the academic world and, at the same time, make a contribution to strengthened university-city relationships.

Reward System—The reward system in American universities has commonly been geared to the quantity and quality of publications. The prestigious schools have been much more concerned with quality while those with lesser reputations have paid more attention to the quantity of publications. In theory those faculty members that published were rewarded with promotions, tenure, reduced teaching loads, and continued financial support for their research. Quality of teaching—difficult if not impossible to judge—has rarely been a major factor in university reward systems.

The effect of this reward system has been to foster pure research and to minimize and, in some cases, penalize faculty members who did not publish, who published derivative works or case studies, or who devoted their time to community service activities. Faculty members who devote their efforts to assisting local governments have received little or no recognition within the university for their contributions (Johnson 1967). A large number of universities in the country today are beginning to reassess their current reward system.

As universities became more and more conscious of their role in their communities, the reward system for faculty members has changed. The value of public service activities has been upgraded. Faculty members who supervise internships, direct field research projects, work on local government task forces and advisory committees, and expand university-city linkages have an increased opportunity to share in the rewards the university has to offer (Goodall 1970).

The changes in university reward systems have occurred slowly. The result of these changes are two-fold. First, universities are becoming better balanced in the sense that they encourage more diversified activities on the part of the faculty. This permits the faculty to accommodate the diverse interests of the student body and assist each student to pursue his own educational objectives with the assistance of an interested faculty member. Second, the university is becoming more directly involved in the community and the resources of the university can be constructively applied to strengthening university-city relationships and hopefully to finding solutions to some urban problems.

Strengths of the City

The strengths of the city in establishing university-city relationships are more difficult to classify than those of the university.

Perhaps the greatest strength of the city is its daily confrontation with urban problems. Local government is the one level of government that consistently deals directly with the consumers of its services and, therefore, presumably has the most current and the most reliable information about urban problems and policies. Local government can provide university researchers with a definition of the problems and some of the financial and organizational constraints that inhibit constructive action. Public officials can provide faculty members with access to public and private documents and in general make interviewing and data collection easier.

Local governments also provide a valuable function in preservice training for university students. Public officials who view university interns as a vital and necessary resource to keep a flow of intelligent and active young men and women coming into local public service are likely to develop the most interesting and challenging internships for these students.

University researchers may venture into the local arena without a comprehensive knowledge of some of the components that maintain the delicate political balance in the city. Working through local public officials, a faculty member can gain insights into the political ramifications of a projected research proposal. Knowledge of this type may assist the faculty member in developing his research proposal and organizing his data collection schedule. Valuable time can be saved if the researcher understands the current political nuances and personalities that might have an impact on the research project.

Another aspect of this strength of local government is the knowledge that local public officials have about the intergovernmental political system. City administrators are familiar with federal and state pro-

grams that bear directly on specific problems. Local officials, because of their continuing interactions with a host of external administrators, are often aware of which state and federal agencies are the most responsive, flexible, and innovative. This information can be critical to universities seeking funds or favors or both. And on the metropolitan level one local government knows more about the administration and politics of other local jurisdictions than a university does.

Universities that are constantly seeking funds for programmatic and research ideas often find that local governments have funds available. Many local governments make budgetary provisions for research studies or consultants. Local governments also receive funds from state and federal sources that necessitate research or developmental studies. The three programs mentioned above—Title I, Urban Observatories, and IPA—all require university participation and provide funds for these programs.

Another strength of the city that universities have utilized is the reservoir of educational talent in local government. One of the strongest and most continuous relationships built between cities and universities has been the use of local public officials on university campuses. These officials have been guest speakers, seminar leaders, and parttime faculty members teaching courses. Their practical experience and areas of specialization have helped to answer student demands for relevancy and greater depth in course work.

Weaknesses of the City

The weaknesses of city governments in developing working relationships with universities are very similar to the weaknesses attributed to universities. The major weaknesses can be defined as departmentalization, reward systems, and planning lead times.

Departmentalization—City governments, like universities, are organized along departmental lines. Just as university teaching units have difficulty interacting with one another so do city departments. Mayors and city managers have the power to commit their city's resources to a cooperative project with a college or university. However, making that commitment operational is a task that remains with the specific departments.

Local governmental bureaucracies move deliberately on almost all programs. Cooperative projects with higher education institutions are not usually viewed as priority activities by departmental officials. Consequently, joint ventures are difficult to initiate and even harder to implement.

If the university personnel pressure the top executives of local gov-

ernment, they can achieve some results. However, this is likely to be of limited value, since top political officers in urban areas are confronted with a plethora of pressing problems. They have a limited amount of time and influence to expend on cooperative programs with universities. Thus, the responsibility is shifted downward to individual department heads. But department heads, like top executives, have to establish priorities and determine how to exercise their political influence. Unless the proposed project with the university is of great importance, it is likely to get minimal attention and support.

The structure of city government like the structure of universities is such that total institutional coordination and commitment is almost impossible. City departments seek out university teaching units or individual professors and fashion projects of mutual interest; then research contracts or training grants are awarded and the projects are completed. The results of the cooperative activities are rarely disseminated and therefore remain underutilized.

Reward System

Although the reward system in local government is not identical to the system employed in colleges and universities, many of the characteristics are the same. The basic system of rewards in both organizations is one that encourages participation and involvement in activities that conform to the standards of the organization.

Public employees in most urban areas are hired, promoted, and given additional responsibility based upon stated criteria. Job descriptions and classifications are developed and applicants must meet certain qualifications to be hired. Employees are evaluated periodically and evaluations are filed for further consideration when the employee seeks a promotion.

Few job descriptions in local government are written to accommodate specialists in university-city relationships. When a department head is instructed to proceed with a cooperative project with a university it usually means reassigning personnel or having some people undertake extra tasks. Whatever approach the department head elects, it means he has to reorder priorities that he has previously set. This in turn may reduce his ability to implement programs and deliver services to citizens. The department head can assign one of the less competent members of his staff to the project and prepare for results of limited value. These results might form the basis for a poor personnel evaluation. The other alternative is to assign a competent person to the task and decide how to evaluate his performance. Many department heads view the university-city project as an intrusion on the normal departmental routine and submit a poor evaluation of the person as-

signed to it. They regard an excellent performance on a university-city program as less than or equivalent to a mediocre performance on normal departmental tasks.

Departmental employees sense this potential danger to their career goals and are reluctant to involve themselves with assignments that depart from their normal tasks. The result is that enthusiasm for building relationships with universities is very low. Coordination and commitment are difficult to sustain and the interactions that do occur are highly specialized, temporary, and fraught with career dangers for all parties concerned.

Planning Lead Times

Lead times for planning programs differ markedly between universities and cities. Cities prepare operating budgets on a fiscal-year basis, usually 1 year ahead of time. The budget represents the programs and policies that the city is committed to for a year. In the budget the city attempts to allocate funds for all contingencies. Inevitably this is an optimistic outlook; crises arise, new programs are conceived, and citizen needs and demands for services fluctuate. In the course of a fiscal year local public officials try to adhere to budgetary guidelines as much as possible. In reality, there are many times when funds are transferred and new sources of revenues are sought to combat unforeseen problems.

Given this capsule picture of policy planning in local government, it is not difficult to see how it conflicts with activities on college and university campuses. When a city needs assistance from a university it often is the result of a recent incident that requires relatively quick action by public officials. Universities are not organized to provide this help in an expeditious manner. Students and faculty cannot be pulled out of classes in mid-semester to aid research programs for the city. Nor can they quickly be assigned to task forces, advisory committees, or liaison groups. College and university campuses usually are operating at full capacity for only 8 months of the year, impeding the development of any long-term, continuous relationship.

In situations where cities are able to contact faculty members about contract research projects, often the time constraints preclude a mutually satisfactory arrangement. A faculty member needs administrative leave or release time or else he can devote only part of his time to the project. Moreover, college faculty are trained in the careful preparation of research designs and proposals that tend to take a great deal more time than public officials normally have to make a decision. Unless faculty members are integrated into the administrative structure in an ongoing relationship, it is doubtful that they will be able to contribute in a meaningful way to solving local community problems.

Maximizing University-City Relations

Summary

This monograph has examined three major aspects of university-city relationships: the impact of the university on local government, the growth of external and internal university involvement in urban affairs, and the strengths and weaknesses of both universities and local governments as they attempt to interact with each other.

The impact of the university upon local governments varies with the size of the university and the size of the city where it is located. Universities as employers have a substantial effect on the job market in all communities. They provide jobs for a wide range of people including administrators, faculty, maintenance personnel, and clerical workers. Since these employees live in the local area, their employment greatly affects the economic health of the community.

Students who attend a college or university are consumers of goods and services. They spend money on food, clothing, shelter, and entertainment. Their daily needs often prompt the development of specialized retail outlets on the perimeter of the campus or, in some cases, the size of the student body is so large as to dominate the marketing patterns of the community. Faculty and administrator expenditures also affect the economic life of the community.

In an institutional sense universities have an impact upon their local communities. They represent large customers to a variety of local businesses that supply goods and services schools require to operate on a day-to-day basis.

Colleges and universities utilize many public services for which they are not taxed. The increasing demand on urban public service delivery systems has encouraged cities and universities to negotiate new methods of delivering and paying for services. In some cases user or hourly charges have been established. In other cases state legislatures have arranged for a payment to local communities that provide a large number of services to colleges and universities.

An additional impact that colleges and universities have upon their communities emanates from their physical development and expansion plans. As universities expand they take additional land off the tax rolls. In many instances schools have expanded into low income areas, purchasing buildings, evicting the tenants and then renewing

the whole area. This has created serious conflicts among city officials, citizen groups and college and university administrators.

University involvement in local community affairs has taken two forms. Beginning in the middle 1960's institutions of higher education developed urban courses, programs, and majors. In most cases this was a reaction to the growing awareness of urban problems. Student demands for programs that were more relevant also spurred internal changes. The creation of urban research centers and Colleges of Public Affairs helped to focus university attention on urban studies as a legitimate area of scholarly activity.

During the 1960's the federal government assisted the universities to initiate and expand cooperative programs with local government. Two of the programs—Title I of the Higher Education Act (1965) and the Urban Observatory Program—give promise of producing continuing relationships between universities and cities. The third federal program, the Intergovernmental Personnel Act, is too new to draw substantive conclusions about.

Other programs, such as Professors of the City and consortium arrangements, have strengthened university-city relationships in specific situations. Proposals for urban grant colleges also suggest ways of creating continuous linkages between universities and cities.

In the introduction it was stated that universities and cities have different goals. As a result they employ different strategies, interact with different actors, and respond to different stimuli. This can be seen rather clearly in the analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of each. Universities and local governments have institutional strengths that could be utilized to foster stronger relationships with one another. However, the weaknesses of both are similar: departmentalization, reward systems, and research demands versus time requirements. These weaknesses to a great extent have precluded the development of a strong, well-conceived, and continuous relationship between local governments and universities.

One might conclude that these weaknesses are inherent to both institutions, and therefore cities and universities cannot build meaningful relationships beyond what has already been discussed or initiated. However, university-city relationships are in their infancy and the successes that have already been recorded have been achieved despite the weaknesses cited. If constructive policies and institutional changes can be agreed upon, it is conceivable that university-city relations could become the cornerstone of progressive thinking and action about urban America.

Recommendations

One of the most valuable documents recommending a strategy for higher education institutions seeking to involve themselves in urban affairs was published by Martin Jenkins of the American Council of Education (Jenkins 1971). Many of the recommendations that follow rely heavily upon Jenkins' guidelines.

The first recommendation for developing or strengthening university-city relationships is the requirement for forceful executive leadership in both institutions. In the university there must be a strong president and provost. In city hall there must be an active and interested mayor and/or city manager. All of the executive personnel involved must be committed in principle and in practice to building greater cooperation. This cooperative activity should be accorded a relatively high priority to infuse the employees of both institutions with the importance of the task being undertaken (Jenkins 1971).

The executive commitment must be related to an ability to act. Executives in both institutions must mobilize personnel, create task forces, and generate activity on all levels of their organizational structure. Mayors and university presidents should appoint liaison officers to serve as primary officials in building stronger ties between cities and universities (Carnegie Commission 1972, p. 113).

A second recommendation is for both universities and local governments to make assessments of their resources, focusing on those that relate to building cooperative activities with each other. Universities would determine which faculty members and students are interested in local governmental problems and policies.

Which courses in the catalog are related to local or metropolitan affairs? Universities would determine what internal and external urban-oriented programs they were offering. These programs might include special skill modules, off-campus, nondegree programs, urban-related majors, training programs, workshops, and institutes. Finally, universities should conduct a survey of all current and proposed urban research. This type of resource assessment details for university administrators exactly what they are doing currently and allows them to begin planning for the most effective utilization of these resources in their relationships with local governments (Jenkins 1971; Randolph 1969).

The resource assessment process in local government should be similar to the university process. High level officials would determine which middle and top management personnel are interested in or are currently involved in programs that relate to local colleges and uni-

versities. They should canvass their department heads for clearly articulated research needs that might be applicable to current university resources.

The third recommendation is for universities and cities to develop institutional linkages. Some of these linkages already exist through mechanisms like consortia. However, where there are no consortium arrangements or where the consortium has proved not to be an acceptable vehicle other arrangements should be instituted. Selected faculty and administrators can meet regularly with the city council, the mayor's cabinet or members of the mayor's staff, to keep institutional channels of communication open. The meetings would focus more on the general policies and problems of the two institutions rather than on specific activities, which would be developed through meetings on lower levels.

The fourth recommendation is for more cross-fertilization within the two institutions. Universities and local governments should develop new structural or procedural techniques to enhance the sharing of ideas within their own organizations. The autonomous teaching units have become too insulated from activities on other parts of the campus. The result is duplication in teaching and research areas and lack of complete information about innovations taking place in the university. Faculty senates and school newspapers are not adequate to the task of sharing ideas about research and teaching. Universities should be striving toward more team teaching and more interdisciplinary planning committees which, with proper executive stimulation, could help break down the walls that exist in the university community. The result hopefully would be greater interaction among faculty and students from different disciplines and consequently a greater exchange of ideas and opinion. This in turn could lead to more diversity in programs and enrich the entire higher education experience.

Local governments have probably moved further in this direction than colleges and universities. The development of centralized planning and policymaking and decentralized administration has created many opportunities for officials from different departments to work together. At the field level, administrators working with employees from other departments in the delivery of services have come to understand the problems that exist in other areas of government. Middle management officials have sat on interdepartmental task forces that study different proposals aimed at coordinating public policy. At the top level, there are cabinet meetings and special task forces that meet regularly to decide administrative and policymaking questions. These

activities represent a greater effort than the academic community has attempted.

The final recommendation is to modify the reward systems in both institutions (Goodall 1970; Johnson 1967). Neither local governments nor universities reward their employees for most activities that involve interinstitutional cooperation. The one exception would be where publishable research is the end product of the relationship. In some cases faculty members and local government employees are penalized for their activities with one another.

If universities and local governments are to build lasting and meaningful relationships, the nature of and the attitude towards the present reward systems must be changed. Universities should not curtail their research efforts; rather, they should encourage faculty members who have limited interests in producing publishable research to become involved in outside activities with local governments. Universities currently reward those faculty members who frequently publish. In prestigious schools an effort is made to judge the quality of the research. In most higher education institutions, however, quantity of publications is often the criterion regardless of the quality. Faculty members feel pressure and publish to meet standards set by the department or school. If faculty members who wanted to devote their time to serious scholarly pursuits can be encouraged to do so, the same should be true of faculty members who wish to participate in programs with local governments.

Ideally, university departments should be composed of faculty who are scholars or teachers or persons with outside interests. This division is difficult to achieve under the most favorable market conditions. However, the present reward system, which heavily favors the scholar, almost precludes this type of mix from developing. Universities that wish to build strong relationships with local governments must realize the impact that the reward system has on activities of faculty members and then make the necessary adjustments.

Local governments face a similar problem. If the development of strong ties with the local colleges and universities is the goal, then local governments must also modify their reward system. Public officials assigned to work on cooperative projects with universities should be evaluated on their performance and not penalized for what they might have accomplished if they remained at their previous tasks. Public officials sense where the greatest rewards are and are not likely to volunteer for university-related activities if they anticipate they will be penalized.

Top administrators who have to make university-related assignments fear they will not be given additional personnel to carry on the day-to-day operations of their departments. The temptation becomes very strong, therefore, to assign less competent people to the interinstitutional activity. Only where top administrators have made a commitment to develop lasting relationships with colleges and universities will there be a strong impetus to revise the reward system and encourage innovative and interested public officials to participate in ongoing programs with the schools.

Many commentators feel that universities and cities are not working with each other in the most productive manner possible. The evidence indicates that this is true. However, those critics who view this as a breakdown in what ought to be a mutually cooperative effort fail to understand the many obstacles in the path of continuous interactions between the two. The different goals, strategies, personnel, pressures, and rewards suggest that universities and local governments have done remarkably well to establish the relationships that currently exist.

Universities and cities that desire to move further in the development of ongoing and meaningful relationships will have to make many internal changes—structural, procedural, and attitudinal. Organizational change is usually slow and politically perilous for those who advocate it. Universities and cities that decide to develop these types of relationships will require strong leadership, enduring commitments, and solid support. Some will succeed and some will fail, but for those who achieve the goal of meaningful interinstitutional relationships, the results of matching resources with needs and blending the professional talents involved should help to produce a better living environment for all.

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